

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria⁵,
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.⁶

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
000 conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,